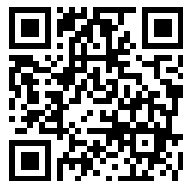

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Hertz, Bachya, the Jewish Thomas a Kempis, 1898

BACHYA

THE JEWISH THOMAS À KEMPIS

A Chapter in the History of Jewish Ethics

BY

JOSEPH HERMAN HERTZ, PH.D (*Columbia*)

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To
The Memory of
Sabato Morais

PREFATORY REMARKS.

The larger portion of this essay was read before the *Mickve Israel Association* of Philadelphia on December 26th, 1897. To the officers and members of that distinguished society, I would here publicly express my thanks for the kindly spirit in which this paper was received.

Only some weeks earlier, the historic congregation *Mickve Israel*, the parent of the *Association*, suffered the loss of its revered Rabbi and Guide. This circumstance accounts for the nature of the closing paragraphs which, after some consideration, have been retained in the form then delivered.

The high privilege of contributing the literary appendix to a Report of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the exceptional honor of belonging to the company of a Sabato Morais and an Alexander Kohut—may their memory be blessed—all this I owe to my venerable friend, the scholar of international reputation, Dr. M. Jastrow. It was he who called the attention of the Trustees of the Seminary to my paper and suggested its publication in this place.

To another friend, whose modesty forbids mention by name, I am deeply indebted for helping me remove, during the final revision for the press, many unidiomatic asperities of diction.

Syracuse, N. Y.

J. H. H.

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BACHYA.

In place of the older conception of Jewish History, which dwelt mainly on the martyrdoms of the Jewish people as well as on its miraculous survivals from countless cataclysms, a newer view of writing Israel's story came to the front towards the middle of this century. The sensuousness of sorrow which older Jewish and Christian writers reveled in was recognized as magnificent, but was not history. Instead, men asked for a chronicle of the strivings of the Jewish spirit, of the conquests and the failures of the Jew in the world of culture and thought. And as battles, persecutions, expulsions and such like are the milestones of the outer history, books and thoughts and teachings of great men came to be recognized as forming the chronology of the inner development of the Jewish people.¹

Two such milestones in the history of Jewish Thought in the Dark Ages, are *The Guide of the Perplexed* of Maimonides, and *The Guide to the Duties of the Heart*, by Bachya. Maimonides' "Guide" critically examined the foundations of our creed, and by reconciling it with the current Aristotelian philosophy, dispersed the clouds of doubt from the minds of many generations. Bachya, on the other hand, through his "Guide," toiled for the spread of a loftier conception of devotion and duty in Jewish life, for a deepening of the religious spirit—for the spiritualization of Judaism. Maimonides bitterly antagonized all manner of superstition and obscurantism. Bachya just as bitterly denounced outwardness of worship, ossification in Jewish practice, and the petrification of Judaism.² Maimonides illumined the reason of the Jew; Bachya brought light into the heart; and the heart has primacy over the head. Add to this, that *The Duties of the Heart* appeared about a century and a half before Maimo-

nides' famous treatise, and we may be inclined to rank *The Duties of the Heart* as in a sense first among the Jewish writings of the Middle Ages.

Of the life of Bachya, the only thing we can affirm with any degree of certainty is that he was a Dayan, member of a rabbinical court, in some Spanish community. Everything else has, at some time, in one shape or another, been questioned. His book has by some been ascribed to Judah ibn Tibbon and to Maimonides; while others have declared it a mere translation from some Mohammedan original. The form of his name, even, is not settled. Scholars hesitate among Bechai, Bechayi, Bahiel, Bahie and Bachya, ibn Bakudah, Bakodah and Pakudah. They are, however, more or less agreed that, let us say Bachya ibn Pakudah,³ in all probability flourished in the first half of the 11th century, apparently in Saragossa; that there is no reason to doubt the traditional date which places the composition of *The Guide to the Duties of the Heart* as 1040, in his old age; that he seems to have mastered the Arabic learning of the day (the natural sciences, philosophy, mathematics, music, astronomy and metaphysics); that as Dayan he must have been perfectly at home in Talmudic studies; that, as appearances point to his having been a townsman and contemporary of Ibn Ganach and Solomon ibn Gabirol, and he himself a poet of no mean order, we cannot be far out of the way if we assume that he was acquainted with the poetical and grammatical productions of contemporary Jewish authors.

This is all we know of Bachya's life—little enough. But though, as in the case of Shakespeare, the man has been absorbed by his book, a careful reading between the lines of his book will be rewarded by many a glimpse of his inmost being. Especially is this true of the Preface, which tells us what it was that induced him to write, and states the scope and purpose of the work. Incidentally the Preface throws a few interesting side-lights on the moral and spiritual condition of his environment.

His starting point is his division of our duties into those which we perform with the members of our body, and are visible; and the inward duties, those which pertain to the heart, and are invisible. Examples of the first class are the ceremonial laws, almsgiving, attending the dead to the grave, etc.: of the second class are such duties as to believe in a Creator; to be filled with shame before Him, since He beholds our most secret thoughts; not to bear any ill-will towards our brother; not to covet anything belonging to him, etc. Now he bitterly complains that in all the literature since the close of the Talmud, there is no book which exclusively, or even primarily, deals with the duties of the heart. Commentaries on the Bible, dealing with its exegesis, or the philological niceties and syntactical problems of the text; Talmudic Compendiums and Collections of Responsa, for the regulation of the daily life in its ritual aspects; Controversial Writings, refuting the objections against Judaism by unbelievers, Mohammedans and Christians: of these there are enough, but not a single ethical treatise!⁴ And yet, the three sources of our faith: Reason, Revelation and Tradition, all concur in the conclusion that the duties of the heart are the foundation of those of the body, so that the latter lose all religious meaning if the heart and mind of the doer have no part in them. Prayer, fasting, almsgiving, the study of Law, tabernacle, mezuzah—in fact the whole body of ceremonials and rituals is vain, if not done with the whole being of the observer.⁵

“Perhaps, I thought to myself,” says Bachya, “these inner laws are so well known and so faithfully do the children of men cling to them, that books of this nature would be altogether superfluous. But then I recalled what I had read in books, of the customs and the ways of men of all times in regard to these inner commandments; that, excepting a vanishing minority of holy men and separatists (*Perushim*, ‘Pharisees’), the laws of the heart have ever been little understood and still less practiced.”

"Doubly is this so of our own days when men are lax and careless in the performance of the laws of the limbs, and especially so of the laws of the heart. For when a man now and then does devote himself to the higher study of the duties of our faith, too often, alas, it is only some such ambition as to acquire the name and fame of 'Scholar,' 'Sage,' in the eyes of the vulgar, that prompts him so to do. Instead of an unselfish study of the Torah for its own sake, we to-day find at best men who will devote all their energies to the acquisition of mere knowledge, something that will neither ennoble their character nor purify their soul from the stains of passion and sin. As the wise man said, when one day he was consulted concerning some hair-splitting subtlety in a strange imaginary case of Divorce. He answered his questioner in this wise: 'My friend, you ask something, the knowledge of which cannot make you morally better; nor, if you remain ignorant of it, will you in any way be the loser. Have you mastered all those other matters which are incumbent upon you as an Israelite to know, that you find the leisure to ponder over such useless discussions? I assure you, it is now more than thirty-five years that I have busied myself with the commandments of the Torah—and you know how assiduous I have been in my study—and I have not yet found the time to discuss questions of the kind which seem to trouble you.'"⁶

"In view, consequently, of the urgent need of such study and its woful neglect, and in view furthermore of the ignorance prevailing on the subject, I resolved to compose a treatise that shall be a lamp unto the feet of men, that shall illumine for them the way they should go; a book that shall acquaint them with the goodly customs of the saints and pious men of old, of whatever nation or creed, and remind them of their inner duties; that shall rouse the careless one from the sleep of folly; restrain the heedless from the road of sin, and be a help and a companion to the beginner in moral wisdom; in short, be a guide to the perplexed (*mareh*

derech linbochim.) I have, therefore, named it "The Guide to the Duties of the Heart."⁷ My purpose, however, is not so much to answer the objections of those who deny any of the principles of our faith. I shall rather follow the example of that astrologer who, having espied by means of his divining-rod a treasure of silver in the field of his friend, searched for it. He found his search rewarded, but the silver was tarnished and blackened; its natural color had been changed beyond recognition by the rust of many days. He, therefore, boiled it in an acid solution, dried and polished it until the silver regained its pristine beauty and splendor. He then bade his friend pursue the same method with the remaining portion of the treasure. A similar procedure shall be mine in this matter of the treasures of the human heart. I will uncover them and display the lustre of their excellence, in order that all those may do likewise who wish to draw nigh unto God and cleave unto Him."⁸

Bachya has performed all he promised. *The Duties of the Heart*—the very title is an inspiration—is one of those books which open our eyes and enable us to see our ordinary existence *sub specie æternitatis*, under the aspect of eternity. They show us things as they *are*, as they would appear to us had not our eyes been abused by a false education and a conventional environment. They lighten for us the burden of life; weights that dragged us down become wings helping us heavenward, Godward. It is one of the few books capable of producing an inner experience of a peculiar kind within us, the consciousness of a spirit breathed over the disordered passions and desires of our hearts, reducing them to the peace and harmony of love. Not everyone, I know, would care for *The Duties of the Heart*. Not everybody, for that matter, cares for the Psalms. No system of life and thought can be understood by one who stands unsympathetic to it. "Love alone is the great interpreter," says James Drummond. To understand the Psalms one must know what prayer is, one must have prayed. The best introduction, the only intro-

duction to a book like Bachya's is a grain of that natural piety which links age to age and binds generation to generation, and which alone makes all men kin, children of a Father in heaven.⁹

The book is written in a style of stern yet gentle, nay genial, simplicity. Its eloquent, vivid language, strewn with thought-laden sayings and beautiful parables, its constant references to Scripture and personal appeals to the reader, have made it a book of the people. Bachya had intended from the first that it should be this, and therefore wrote in the vernacular, in Arabic. Not all the Jews of the Dispersion speak Arabic, however. The Jew leads, in respect to language at least, an *amphibian* existence;¹⁰ he speaks the language of the land, but he is also more or less familiar with the international language of the Jew, the Holy Tongue, which serves as the galvanic cord binding the sundered members of Israel into one brotherhood. This nation, with a mother-tongue, but no fatherland, yet everywhere speaking the language of its step-brethren, produces the Translator of the greatest of agencies for the leveling of all ghetto-walls of the spirit.¹¹ Bachya's *The Duties of the Heart* becomes the property of Universal Israel—the Karaites included—¹² only when, under the title *Choboth Ha-lebaboht*,¹³ the book is translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn Tibbon, of the renowned family of translators, the ibn Tibbons, in the year 1161. Through this Hebrew rendering it becomes a book of devotion for the next 750 years, large portions of it finding their way even into the prayer books.¹⁴ This Hebrew translation of ibn Tibbon is in turn translated into various European languages as well as into the Judeo-Spanish and Judeo-German dialects; is commented on, abridged, paraphrased, imitated and—plagiarized. It is printed as early as 1489, the twenty-sixth Hebrew book to issue from the printing press. Over sixty different editions of the book are enumerated in Hebrew Bibliographies; the first book in literary German written by a Jew was a translation of the *Choboth Ha-lebaboht* in 1765, and three

new German translations appeared in the century following. At last an edition of the original Arabic text itself, to be accompanied by a French translation, has been undertaken.¹⁵

But this book is much more than a devotional manual of wonderful beauty and popularity. Aside from all this, it occupies a foremost place in Jewish thought as a philosophical classic. Now this is due not to any startling originality of matter. There is, in fact, nothing altogether new in *The Duties of the Heart*, nothing that cannot be found in the Bible, in *Pirqe Aboth*, in *Aboth di Rabbi Nathan*, in the minor Talmudic treatises of *Derech Eretz*,¹⁶ or in a Florilegium of Rabbinic Sayings. But Bachya's *Duties of the Heart* is the first introduction to a fulfilment of all the inward duties—the first Jewish ethical treatise—*according to philosophical method*. Herein lies its commanding importance in the history of Jewish ethics. The Jew, on leaving his home entered the outside world with an ethical outfit higher and better than that of the peoples about him. Aristotle, Christianity, the Koran, none of these taught the Jew anything ethically new. What he did learn in the course of the following centuries was through his contact with Hellenic thought; and was no more than the *formulation* of ethical ideas and their *systematic exposition*. He had not felt the need of systematic thinking on ethical matters before, because, in Jewish life, there were no conditions to call it forth. It was otherwise with the Greeks. They did attain to method in ethics, because, whenever the old morality was wavering and respect for authority had weakened, men questioned the very basis and reality of the moral law. The philosophers, therefore, undertook to establish those general principles of morality that are independent of the differences between peoples and times; that are valid everywhere and authoritative for all men. For the Jew, on the other hand, there was nothing in the whole range of human thinking clearer or more absolutely certain than that God is the Creator of the moral, as well as of the physical

world order; that He is the source of all, including ethical, truth; and that the traditional laws of morality express and contain this truth.¹⁷ In the maddening maze of things, when most tossed by storm and flood, he saw, he felt that God is good and just and holy; and that it is his duty to cleave unto God by imitating His ways of justice, goodness and holiness.

Another reason for the late appearance of method in the exposition of morality is the fact that the Jewish people, down to the days of Saadyah and Bachya, were as yet so naïve in their literary conceptions that they could not see the need of treating in systematic or literary form anything so self-evident as the practical moralities of life. The full *Tragweite* of this remark let me illustrate by a suggestion of the late Dr. L. Lazarus, Director of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau. In Lazarus' opinion Lessing's thought "Man spricht selten von der Tugend man hat," can be turned to high scientific use by the historian of ethics. What an interesting chapter in the history of human culture could one furnish by investigating those virtues and vices of a people which that people and its moralists considered as so self-evident—the virtues so unquestionably praiseworthy, and the vices so absolutely and universally condemned—that neither the people nor its moralists hardly ever make mention of them.¹⁸ Now, it requires little argument to establish that not the least wonderful portion of such a chapter would be the one treating of the Jewish people. That would be a relatively long list of virtues, universally practiced, and vices just as universally shunned; and yet scarcely ever mentioned. I cannot refrain from citing one example, just one. In the various Confessions of Sins, recited on Yom Kippur, in which well-nigh every human crime, passion or failing is catalogued in an exhaustive—almost exhausting—manner, no mention is made of the crime of murder. Murder, to the creators of the Jewish Liturgy, as well to the people who for ages have sought spiritual communion with their Maker through this same liturgy, was something so unspeakably horrible, that to them it appeared inconceiv-

able how any Jew could possibly commit it." Of what wonderful interest is such a characteristic to the ethnic psychologist, and what an eloquent refutation of a certain foul and Satanic charge brought forward against the Eternal People even in this last decade of the nineteenth century!

Now, to return to the naive conception of the Jewish people, which for ages, partially at least prevented them from having any systematic ethical treatises. We have seen that this failure on their part to have any ethics, *to speak of*, is far from discreditable. And how genuine this feeling is, can be seen from its survival down to this day. Only a few weeks ago, a man with considerable reputation for learning in my own city complained to me of the dulness of such books as *The Path of the Upright*, by Moses Chayim Luzzatto,²⁰ *The Book of Pious Souls*, by R. Judah of Regensburg,²¹ or *The Duties of the Heart*. "What can I learn by reading them that I did not know before? 'Sei gut und fromm, mein Kind, Be good, sweet child,' seems to be the sum and substance of their teaching." Many so-called educated people are, in much the same way, puzzled by what appears to them the exaggerated value placed upon the Prophetic writings, and that by people otherwise of the sanest critical judgment. They can see nothing either so wonderful or original in Isaiah; to them it seems full of self-evident platitudes, clothed "in prose run mad," as Paine gently puts it. Now this charge of self-evidence—and therefore of dulness—is responsible for the partial neglect in recent centuries of this ethical literature among semi-Asiatic and Oriental Jews. The lower classes, so far as they read ethical books at all, will rather select *The Beginning of Wisdom*, by R. Elijah de Vidas; or *The Righteous Measure*, by R. Hirsch Kaidonover, where they, alas, do learn something new—blood-curdling descriptions of the torments of Gehenna, weird tales of regiments of demons, with other cabbalistic aberrations, most distressing to the lover of his people.²²

Bachya, however, knew human nature too well, not to

be convinced that the self-evident is tardiest in being recognized as such by men. He proceeds to compose an ethical treatise, the methodical form of which we have seen to be due to a certain impetus from without. But besides the method and manner of presentation, a certain something which makes his perspective in moral and spiritual matters somewhat different from that of his Jewish predecessors and is due to these same foreign influences, enters his system of thinking. The very title of the book is of non-Jewish origin.²³ Only Pagan Christians of the first century and Pagan Jews of the nineteenth contrast the "duties of the heart" with the "duties of the limbs;" Jewish Jews of the stamp of Bachya and his like would never of their own accord have done so. In fact, on this whole subject of using other sources he might have repeated the words Maimonides prefaced to his "Eight Chapters introductory to the *Pirque Aboth*: "Know that neither the teachings nor the explanations which I propound in the following chapters are altogether original with me. They are thoughts gathered by me from the works of sages in the Midrash and the Talmud and from other Jewish writings; furthermore, from the utterances of philosophers of antiquity and our own days, and from the works of various and divers authors. I am willing to learn from anybody and everybody. Here and there I may cite literally and in its entirety an explanation from a well-known book. At the same time, I do not wish to adorn myself with the expressions of others. Let this, therefore, sufficiently explain my procedure, even though I do not at every turn interrupt myself with the words, 'This one said,' and 'That one said,' which, under the circumstances, would be unnecessary diffuseness."

This trait on the part of Bachya (and Maimonides) must not be construed as lack of originality; rather does it show what Steinschneider calls, the wonderful assimilative faculty of the Jewish mind, its marvelous power of reproductivity. Bachya may be largely eclectic, but his work is not a mosaic. He was always a chooser, knowing what to reject, "what to

blot," in Pope's phrase. He draws his metaphysics very largely from the muddy waters of Neo-Platonism and Neo-Pythagoreanism, which teem with theosophic lucubrations; yet how modern in its clearness and purity is his *Gate on the Godhead*.²⁴ Professor Kaufmann has put his indebtedness to the *Encyclopedia of the Brethren of Purity* beyond a doubt. (The Brethren of Purity were a learned school, or, as some say, a secret order of Mohammedan Freemasons started in the city of Basra about the year 950 for the spread of scientific illumination [Aufklärung,] and—piety; for the reconciliation of Religion and Science, as we would say to, day.) From the "Bridgewater Treatises" of these sanctimonious encyclopedists, Bachya gets the teleological coloring of his theistic view of nature. But he casts far from himself the hosts of Satans, the dream-interpretations and other astrologic charlatanisms of their Encyclopedia. Dr. Martin-Schreiner, of Berlin, three years ago proved what Zunz surmised as early as 1845, that Bachya had various Arabic ethico-devotional works before him according to which he patterned his own. Dr. Schreiner traces the whole manner of the book back to the works of Mohammedan ascetics of Sufi tendency. But we look in vain for even a trace in *The Duties of the Heart* of the mystic contemplation of the joys of Paradise, for the camel-swallowing literalism, and worst of all, for that Oriental lack of taste so repellent to the Western reader, which characterizes this Sufistic ascetic literature. Bachya thus, in every respect, rises vastly superior to his sources. At most he takes from them vapor—but he turns it to water, pure and limpid, quickening to the thirsty soul.²⁵

It is time we looked somewhat closer at a few of his ideas. He opens with a metaphysical discussion of Creation, the Creator and His attributes. He belongs to the cosmo-theological period of Jewish philosophy; because the starting point of religion and morals for him is the establishing of the dogma, *Creatio ex nihilo*.²⁶ His arguments are mostly those of Saadyah the Gaon. The world must have a Creator, because

otherwise we are driven to the assumption that the world created itself. But this is absurd, as it could have done so only either before it existed, which was impossible; or after it was already in existence, which was superfluous. The Creator is a unity; but His is a real unity, which involves being and eternity. These attributes again are properly but negative attributes, removing the possibility of attributing their opposites, to God. We cannot picture God to ourselves; but neither can we picture the soul, nor grasp what it is, yet we are convinced of its existence. How? By its effects, by its doings, by its manifestations. Similarly we shall ever miss a God whom we mortals can know, if we seek Him by means of abstract arguments only. To know God, we must look to creation. In the second Gate,²⁷ *On the Contemplation of Nature*, he bids us intelligently observe the marvels writ large in the heavens, in bird and flower, in rain and sunshine, in man's body and daily life. A bottle of ink spilt on a sheet of paper will not, of its own accord, arrange itself into poetic strains of beauty. Such strains of beauty compel us to assume an intelligent author. In Reason's ear, therefore, all things, by the wonderful design manifested in them, sing, "The Hand that made us is divine!" To Bachya this universe is thus no divine comedy, no stupendous jest, as it appears to Leo de Modena, the fickle free-thinker rabbi of Venice.²⁸ In the next eight Gates, he shows that a proper understanding of God and such devout contemplation of Nature will lead man, the crown and object of creation; to join in this universal hymn to the Creator, and serve Him; to put our trust in Him; to subordinate all our doings to His will, and thus make the glory of His name the supreme motive of our actions; to walk in humility before Him; to repent of our sins; to practice continual self-examination as to our failings; to refrain from the vanities of this world; at last to reach the summit where we can fulfill the highest of all duties, the love of God with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our might.²⁹

The most striking feature of Bachya's system is certainly the distinctly ascetic stamp which he gave to his moral views; the idea of *Perishuth*, Separatedness, which he developed with such minuteness, and with so much earnestness advocated. To practice the suppression of worldly desires—self-restraint in such matters even as are not altogether forbidden by the Law—is a duty incumbent upon all. And just as each art and science has its devotees, there must be a class of men who shall, by their conduct, show that it is possible to forego all the luxuries and escape all the vanities of life. Only a class of men, however, are to carry out this severer form of *Perishuth*; for if all men were to become world-forsakers, society would disintegrate and this earth would become depopulated. In support of these views he "reads a Bible of his own," and finds many allusions to this *Perishuth* in the life of the Patriarchs, Prophets and Nazarites. With special approval does he quote the following Mishnic saying: "This is the way of the Torah; a morsel of dry bread thou must eat and water by measure thou must drink; thou must sleep upon the ground and live a life of trouble the while thou toilest in the Torah. If thou dost thus, happy shalt thou be and it shall be well with thee (Ps. cxxvii, 2); happy shalt thou be—in this world; and it shall be well with thee—in the world to come."³⁰ Bachya furthermore gives classical expression to the three chief moments of all ascetic thinking—the original purity and present home-sickness of the soul, the transitoriness of life and the awful sublimity of the Judgment Day³¹—in his "Admonition to the Soul." This poem in rhymed prose, intended only as an appendix to *The Duties of the Heart* has through its beauty and its sombre impressiveness won a place in some Yom Kippur liturgies. I shall quote a few sentences in the noble version of Dr. Jastrow.³²

"My soul, be not senseless, like a beast, deeply sunk—be not drowsy with passion drunk.—Hewn from reason's mine thou art—from wisdom's well thy waters start—from the Lord's heavenly realm!

My soul, let not the body's wanton pleasures capture thee—its showy treasures not enrapture thee;—they melt away—like the dew before the day,—they avail naught when they begin—and their end is shame and sin.

My soul look carefully back—on thy pilgrim's track;—all cometh from the dust—and thither return it must.—Whatever has been moulded and built,—when its time is fulfilled,—must go the ground—where its material was found.—Death is Life's brother.—They keep fast to one another,—each taking hold of one end of their plunder,—and none can tear them asunder. Soon thou wilt come—to thy eternal home,—where thou must show thy work and receive thy wages—on rightful scales and guages,—or good or bad, according to the worth—of thy deeds on earth.

"Therefore get thee up, and to thy Master pray—by night and day;—bow down before Him, be meek,—and let thy tears bedew thy cheek.—Seek the Lord, thy Light,—with all thy might;—walk in meekness, pursue the right;—so that with his mercy-screen, the Master—hide thee in the day of disaster.—Then thou shalt shine like the heavens bright,—and like the sun when going forth in might;—and o'er thy head—shall be spread—the rays—of the sun of grace—that brings—healing and joy in his wings."

Largely, of course, Bachya in this theory of Separatedness but gives expression to the contemplative attitude of the Middle Ages. "The mediæval world was a world of thought and aspiration, of divine discontent with the actual," a longing for the ideal. All things, this mediæval idealism taught, are, truly understood, most fit; rational order pervades the universe. But whoever has once beheld the abiding Reality underlying and animating all things, "is possessed by the sense of the utter insignificance and transitoriness of all temporal interests and sees in all things the seeds of quick decay and dissolution. The wise man has awakened from life's fevered dream and broken the spell of all its illusion."³³ Henceforth his is the quiet and imperturbable dignity of spirit that goes not

well with mirth and vulgar enjoyment. His cry is for rest and peace, cessation from futile striving, and withdrawal from the interests of time, as mere shadow-shapes that come and go. The thought of this home-sickness of the soul for the ideal world, whence it had fallen into this lower world of sense and time, leads the mediæval monk, mystic and saint to consider only that true education which, as Plato has it, is a process of purification, a gradual recovery of what at birth was lost, an ever more perfect "reminiscence" of the upper world. *There* is man's true home; not here, in the cave of sensibility, the soul's sad prison-house. Ever thus to the mediæval thinker, is the shadow of eternity cast athwart the world of time.

But be that as it may, the ascetic element is so altogether absent from our current conception of Judaism, that, at first we are very much at a loss how to account for Bachya's opinions. We feel that Saadyah and Yehudah Halevy, when they attack monasticism, pointing out its radical immorality and psychological fruitlessness, have the Jewish past behind them. And although we know that asceticism did not have to wait for Bachya to be introduced into Jewish thought, we are, nevertheless, inclined to classify his *Perishuth* with ideas even more startling to the Jew of to-day, ideas that at various times have fringed the Jewish consciousness. Among these, we might cite the recommendation of monastic celibacy by the twelfth century astronomer and duke, (Nassi) Abraham bar Chiyya, of Barcelona; or that weaker form of a Vicarious Atonement Doctrine as seen in the cycle of prayers and paytanic compositions dealing with the Binding of Isaac (Akedah). We of to-day feel that the statement in the Jerusalem Talmud, "On the day of Judgment man will be called to account for every innocent pleasure and enjoyment he has denied himself" strange as it may sound, is nearer the spirit of Judaism than the *Perisuth* of Bachya.³⁴

Our harsh judgment on Bachya's preachment will how-

ever not be lasting if we learn more of its true nature. For, doing so, we shall see, that, in spite of first impressions to the contrary, his doctrine turns out to be in thorough consonance with the spirit of Judaism. We find Bachya slightly tinged with pietism; yet the sickly sentimental and the effeminate are total strangers to him. He was a Dayan, and thus willy-nilly he could never leave the *terra firma* of practical religion. The genius of Judaism ever watches over him; and when he reaches the extreme limit of contempt of the world, it saves him from monastic, Christian crucifixion of the flesh.³⁵ The perfect sanity of Judaism he can never forget. He warns us against that *Perishuth* which is merely a pose; while a monkish withdrawal from the ordinary duties of life he stigmatizes as pernicious, at war with the law of God and Man.³⁶ The highest form of Separatedness is the earning of an honorable livelihood. For

"To make a happy fireside clime
To weans and wife,
That's the true pathos and sublime
Of human life."

"True Aloofness," he furthermore tells us, "requires purity of thought, free even in imagination from any approach to sin; it demands integrity of action, the banishing of all baseness and selfishness in our daily social life among men." Let us listen to a still more detailed description of the true Separatist. "The true *Parush* is large-hearted and humble-minded; he is calm and full of natural modesty. He laugheth, but never immoderately; he is grieved, but never angry. He is master of his passions and firm in his determination, and yet never over-hasty nor obstinate. Courteous is he in meeting objections, and never insulting in his answers; he charitably covers error, but capable of righteous indignation. Sincere in friendship, a loyal companion, he takes up no reproach against his fellow. He incommodes others little, but helps them much; whatever he promises he keeps; he pries not, neither does he publish what is secret. He is reviled, but does not revile in return, neither does he

rejoice at the misfortune of his enemy ; he complains little, and accepts all suffering in loving resignation. He is soothing as cream, as sweet as honey; he speaks equity and bides his day. Filled with pity at the sight of misery, is a help to the poor, and a stay to the oppressed. He knows his faults and is mindful of his sins ; wisdom is his, and —meekness. Every action he deems sincerer than his own, and every soul purer than his soul. He honors the upright, reveres the just, loves his God and cheerfully obeys His will”³⁷ If this is Bachya’s other-worldliness, we venture to state that few indeed are the books that are more timely than *The Duties of the Heart*. And all those who are not color-blind in matters spiritual, will agree that at this moment there are few things more needed than a good strong infusion of just such other-worldliness into the sordid secularism, dry rationalism and crass materialism of our workaday and holy-day lives.³⁸

While therefore *The Duties of the Heart* at first blush seems to be an expression of but one-half of R. Jacob’s famous dictum,³⁹ “Better is one hour of blissfulness of spirit in the world to come, than the whole life of this world,” a closer examination has taught us that to him religion is not only a being, but also a doing. He places an equal emphasis on the second half, “Better is one hour of repentance and good deeds in this world than the whole life of the world to come.” The central idea of Rabbinic ethics—the “Imitation of God”⁴⁰—“to draw nigh unto God, and imitate His ways,” is thus the burden of the “Imago Dei,” written by this Jewish Thomas a’ Kempis, this “minnesinger of the love of God.” It opens with the knowledge of God, the beginning of wisdom; and closes, in its tenth Gate, with the pure and disinterested love of God, the keystone in the arch of Jewish morality.⁴¹

Of recent years many people have tried to picture to themselves the character of a Jew to serve as the basement type of the Jew of the future. Certain convergences of

opinion have come to light. It cannot be the reactionary, or one whose ideal is conservatism for its own sake. He cannot see the forest on account of the trees. When Paulinism old or new, assails the binding force of a commandment like that of Tephillin, he, in a love which passeth understanding, invests it with a universality as absolute as that of the eternal moralities, so that even the Godhead Himself bends to it.⁴² "The Holy One, blessed be He, lays Tephillin," says the Talmud. Not that one need be a skilled feller of trees, under whose shade ages have sheltered themselves; but a more sympathetic perception of the dominant undercurrent of progress in things required, so that our place no exaggerated value on whatever comes of custom or convention.⁴³

Still less can the revolutionist in Judaism furnish that type. Revolution is impious; destructionism, and sadder still, blackguardism not too rarely distinguish her children. The revolutionist violates, and in the nature of the case must violate, again and again the instinct of reverence, most precious boon to mortals given. Often, in his rashness, he turns his back to the consensus of the ages; and, as often, seems to take quite naturally to a certain *ὕβρις*, self-assertiveness, most painful to behold.⁴⁴

Bachya's *Guide to the Duties of the Heart* supplies us with a few bold outlines for a type, fairer, more enduring, than either. A character marked by a certain guilelessness, transparency, simplicity, which is always the very flowering of culture, intellectual, aesthetic and spiritual. Dissatisfied with things as they are, his revolution is nevertheless softened, harmonized, subdued, without noise of axe or hammer. "Sweetness and light" in him are wedded to "Strength." A character which, when laid open by accident to our own alien modern atmosphere appears to us like a relic of the classical ages. The presence of this nature is felt like a sweet aroma; it comes into our existence like a benediction, his words fall upon our ears like the strains of ethereal music.⁴⁵ His influence is seen, above all things, in the lives of men!

My friends, we have all known one who approached the nearest in this generation to the character I tried to paint to you, in colors taken from Bachya's and from Walter Pater's palette. You and I consider it among the highest privileges of our life to have called him Teacher, Mentor, Friend! Bachya's book, lived as he lived it, would mean the regeneration of Judaism; nay, of society. For though the philosophical setting of the "Guide to the Duties of the Heart" is scholastic and obsolete, its moral and ethical contents have permanent beauty and abiding force. Aside from the Bible, it is, perhaps, the noblest expression of the Jewish spirit of all times.

NOTES TO BACHYA.

A bibliography of Bachya will be found in Jellinek's edition of the *Chaboth Ha-lebaboth* (Leipsic, 1846). This must be supplemented by the modern literature on Bachya to be found in Steinschneider's *Hebräische Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, § 214-217. In the following notes I shall attempt to trace the sources of most of the thoughts contained in the preceding essay. To two books, however, I am indebted more than I can adequately express by means of mere references: *Zur Charakteristik der talmudischen Ethik* (Breslau, 1877) gave me an insight into the moving springs of Jewish ethical thinking, while Prof. Kaufmann's *Die Theologie des Bachya ibn Pakudah* (Vienna, 1874), also in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener kaiserlichen Akademie, phil.-histor. Classe*, (Aprilheft, Bd. lxxvii.) completely revolutionized my, as everybody else's, views as to Bachya's sources. For those other influences which are too subtle or too minute to be acknowledged by a special note, I would beg the reader to bear in mind the quotation from Maimonides to be found p. 16 *supra*.

The references are not always to the page. This is due to the fact that these notes were written away from the author's library, on a steamship bound for South Africa. When we know all the circumstances, we shall pardon all the faults.

1. Preface to Leopold Dukes' *Zur Kenntniss der neuhebräischen religiösen Poesie* (Frankfort am Main, 1842); cf. also Joseph Jacobs' *Jewish Ideals*, New York, 1896, on "Jewish History: its Aims and Methods," p. 236.

2.—Prof. D. H. Mueller in Smolenskin's Hebrew periodical, *Haschachar*, iii. 410.

3. Scholars are pretty unanimously agreed to use this form of the name in absence of a more correct one. Among them are Bruell, Ph. Bloch, Kaufmann, Kayserling, Schechter, and even Steinschneider (in *Introduction to the Arabic Literature of the Jews*, I. "Names," appearing in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*). In older Rabbinic works he is usually spoken of as *Rabbenu Bechay ben Joseph ibn Pakudah Hachassid* ("the Pious," became author of an ethico-ascetic book), *Ha-zaken*, "The Elder," to distinguish him from younger namesakes) or *Hi-dayan*. For Judah ibn Tibbon, see p. 12, *supra*.

Merwan ibn Ganach (R. Jonah Morinus), a famous grammarian and lexicographer.

Solomon ibn Gabirol, the poet second only to Yehudah Halevy in the

annals of neo-Hebraic poesy. Munk, in 1856, has vindicated for him an important place in the history of philosophy by proving him to be identical with "Avicbron," author of *Fons Vitz*, a work which exerted a remarkable influence on the scholastic doctors of the Church.

4. p. 5a. and 5b. of *Chaboth Ha-lebaboth*, ed. Baumgarten. The works and their authors, etc., he mentions in this connection help us to understand the generations posterior to which Bachya must have written his book.

Among these are the Massoretes. Saadyah, the Gaon, "the first modern Jew," born in Fayyum, Egypt, in 892, and died as "Gaon," head of the Suranic College in Babylon, 942. He was a translator, commentator and controversialist. He is the author of the philosophical treatise, "Creeds and Opinions." David Mokammetz, or Mikmatz, an interesting personality, typical of an erratic century, which was brimful of strange heresies and violent schisms. Cf. Harkavy-Bacher on Quirquisani's "Account of the Jewish Sects," in a recent volume of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. Mokammetz himself seems to have forsaken Rabbanite Judaism for Karaism, then became a Mohammedan, a Christian, and a Jew again. It is conjectured that his name, Mokammetz, which means "a leaper," is merely a sobriquet derived from his frequent changes in religious belief. However, far too little is as yet known of him to speak with any positiveness.

For "Ibn Ganach" see above, Note iii.

Gabirol's name he does not mention; neither does he refer to his ethical book. This does not prove that Bachya's book antedated Gabirol's. Neither is it yet certain that Bachya utilized Gabirol's work in the preparation of his own. Kaufmann and N. Bruell take opposite sides on this question. But it is as yet questionable whether Bachya and Gabirol at all knew each other's work.

5. *Chaboth Ha-lebaboth*, Ed. Baumgarten, p. 6a. This sentiment is not new with Bachya. Myriads of times in Rabbinic literature—from their general principle *כונה צריכות מציאות* down to the latest cabbalistic *הנני מכוון*—do we find this insistence on the intention and the devotion of the observer. And Professor Steinthal, in his essay "Ueber Andacht," has shown that the very word for *devotion* in Hebrew (*כונה*) is an invention of the mediæval Rabbis.

"Was Bachya a Reform Jew?" None but a mediæval mind, incapable of being objective, would at all ask such a question. It is on a par with that other question asked, just as seriously and just as characteristically mediæval, and exquisitely ludicrous, "Was Job a Reform Jew?" However, as the question has been asked, let any one who wishes to investigate Bachya's "soundness" in religious prayer consult the preface of M. Isaac Broyde to the newly found "Reflections on the Soul," which is attributed (on very slight grounds) to Bachya. M. Broyde undertakes to prove that every one of Bachya's books or poems is an *orthodox* anti-

these men: "So far, we have not yet found even one among all the translations, over a thousand made during the Middle Ages, that has been done for pay or hire!"

12. *a.* The Karaites, or "Scripturalists," a Jewish sect founded by Anan in the eighth century. They rejected the Talmud. There remain to this day, some four thousand, in the Crimea.

b. While the *Chaboth* thus early became a book of the entire Jewish people, it does not seem at first to have been fully appreciated by the learned. Cf. N. Bruell, *Jahrbücher f. Jued. Gesch. u. Lit.*, v., p. 76. Maimonides, Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Nachmanides, Meiri, quote him only once, if at all. Eleasar of Worms plagiarizes but does not name him. Berachya Nakdan (according to J. Jacobs, identical with Benedict the Punctator of Oxford) is the first to quote him by name.

13. חובות הלכבות. This translation of the *Chaboth* by Ibn Tibbon is probably the second book ever translated from the Arabic into Hebrew, which accounts for the slow movement and lack of elegance in Ibn Tibbon's version. Ibn Tibbon's "Translators' Preface" (pp. 2 a and b, 3 a and b, ed. Baumgarten) becomes the programme for all the succeeding translators. In it he complains of the difficulty of the subject; he excuses the new forms which the poverty of the Hebrew language in philosophical terms necessitates. Even the translation of the *Chaboth* is thus epoch-making. See Steinschneider, *Heb. Uebers.* § 215.

Joseph Kimchi also produced a translation of the *Chaboth*, which is of a more belletristic nature than Ibn Tibbon's. It was soon lost, however. The few fragments found by Zunz have been republished in Jellinek's edition of the *Chaboth* (Leipsic, 1846).

14. Nothing unusual for the Jew. "The Ethics of the Fathers" has for ages been included in the Sabbath afternoon service. Selections from Bachya were arranged for the Ten Days of Penitence.

15. The writer of these lines hopes to translate it for the first time into English as soon as the Arabic original appears.

"Over sixty editions are enumerated in Hebrew Bibliographies." The full significance of these figures can only be appreciated if we had some such statistics as to the Jewish reading public as, *e. g.*, Judge Sulzberger, with a lucidity unique to the man, presented in his recent Decennial Address. A standard of measurement is absolutely indispensable—something I cannot even attempt to give on board of a ship bound for South Africa. The following figures, clipped from the *New York Times Saturday Review* of August 13th, may help us somewhat. The subject is Don Quixote, the great book of Spain: "The language of eulogy has been exhausted over that work of Miguel de Cervantes, which for two hundred years has been the delight of mankind in a degree such as no other book has ever approached." Besides being one of the most popular works the world ever produced, it was at all times ranked by critics as one of the five chief books in all literatures, the other four being the *Iliad*,

the Book of Job, the Divine Comedy and King Lear. The book has been translated into every European tongue, not excluding Turkish. Yet a Don Quixote Bibliography down to 1874 would show that this universal favorite of the civilized world, that this world-classic, has, all in all, undergone only 278 editions. Measured by this standard, the sixty editions of the *Chaboth* is a surprisingly large number. It proves the absolute sway this book must have exercised over the hearts of the Jewish people, as well as the well-nigh total absence of illiteracy among them. The Jews have ever been "the people of books."

16. One of the apocryphal tractates, of an edifying nature, treating of good manners, conduct, etc.

17. L. Lazarus, *Zur Charakt. d. Talm. Ethik*, pp. 5-9.

Zunz has collated a few of the pearls to be found in the Jewish moralists from the 11th-14th centuries, all uninfluenced by any but Biblical and Talmudic sources. At a time when anti-social interpolations into the Jewish code would have been justified by the systematic and diabolic attempts at annihilation undertaken against them, the broad humanitarianism of these rabbis is simply unsurpassable. Zunz's selection is found in English translation in "Jewish Characteristics," published by the old American Jewish Publication Society.

18. L. Lazarus, *Zur Charakt.*, etc., p. 25, note.

19. Cf. Lector Friedmann, *Drei Gottesdienstliche Vortraege* (Vienna, 1892), p. 9.

20. מסלת ישרים (*Messilath Yesharim*), a short ethico-ascetic book of rare beauty. It is more interesting to-day than it ever was, as it is fast assuming a semi-canonical character in the eyes of the "Men of 'Morals,'" (בעלי מוסר) *Baale Mussar*, a sect-in-the-making in Russia, founded some twenty years ago by R. Israel Salanter.

21. ספר חסידים, *Sefer Chassidim*—Best edition by Wistinetzki, and published by the *Mekilze Nirdamim*. Guedemann has written a sympathetic characterization of this mystic book.

"Geographical Judaism" is more or less a reality. It would, however, require a great deal of scholarship, coupled with ethnic psychological training, to explain why Spanish Judaism has found its ethical expression in the *Chaboth Ha-lebabeth*, German Judaism in the *Sefer Chassidim* and Italian Judaism in the *Messilath Yesharim* (or would Leo Modena's *Tzemach Tzaddik* better typify a synagogue which two hundred years ago allowed a rabbi to speak of the "divine Diana" in the pulpit?). We doubt not but some day it will be done.

22. ראשית חכמה, *Reshith Chochmah*, קו הישר, *Kav Hayoschar*, both written about 250 years ago. Cf. Prof. D. H. Mueller, *Haschachar*, iii. 410, note.

23. Dr. Martin Schreiner, *Der Kalam in der jud. Literatur* (Berlin, 1895), p. 26. The originator of the phrase in Arabic circles was Abu-l-Hudejl-al-Allaf, a Mutazilitic theologian.

24. שער היחוד—"Unity," in the neo-Hebrew philosophical idiom, is a synonym of "Godhead."

25. Kaufmann, *Die Theologie d. Bachja ibn Pakudah*, p. 25.

26. Winter-Wuenschel, *Jued. Literatur*, vol. ii., pp. 715-722. To all intents and purposes, God, according to Bachya, is "unknowable." He has in this chapter some remarkable views as to the value of anthropomorphisms in the education of the human race.

Bachya has at all times been severely criticised for having written this *Gate on the Godhead*. Its abstract nature renders it altogether out of place in a book for the people. Even Bachya excuses himself for including it, and advises any reader who is not metaphysically inclined to pass it over. Prof. Kaufmann, however, makes the following apology for it: "Ein Werk das in allen seinen Theilen die Forderung vortragt, unser Denken und Handeln mit den Gedanken an Gott zu durchdringen ohne Auseinandersetzung ueber Gott, waere ein Gebaeude ohne Grundlage." Perhaps its inclusion was only due to the Jewish belief that ignorance can never be the mother of devotion—a belief which led the philosopher Joseph ibn Zaddick (1070-1149) to declare that without a philosophical knowledge of God, men, despite their good deeds, are mere idolators. Wisdom is the only source of goodness. That Bachya was a fervent follower of this idea can be seen from the following sentences taken from the preface: "One day I approached a man esteemed for his knowledge of the Torah, and asked him concerning the duties of the heart. He answered that in all such matters Tradition ought to take the place of Reflection. Very true, I replied, for all such as have no time to reflect for themselves—women, for example; or for such as have no capability to understand them, as simpletons or children. But whoever through sheer carelessness or indolence refrains to gain a clear understanding of all traditional teachings has done something for which sure punishment awaits him." (P. 8b-9a., ed. Baumgarten.)

27. שער הבחינה.

28. A curious figure in Jewish history: preacher, poet, controversialist, autobiographer and crypto-infidel; a great intellect, coupled with a weak will and no character. For his unique theory that the universe is a result of Divine sport, see the opening chapters of his *Kol Sachal*, ed. Reggio, and also an article on this theory of Leo Modena's, in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, ii, pp. 19-23 (German portion). The writer of these lines believes himself to have been the only one to celebrate the 250th anniversary of his death, on March 18th last, by an address.

29. 3d Gate, שער עבודת אלהים.

4th " שער הבטחון.

5th " שער יחוד המעשה.

6th " שער הכניעה.

7th " שער התשובה.

8th " שער חשבון הנפש.

9th Gate, שער הפרישות.
10th " שער אהבת ד'.

30. *Pirqe Aboth*, vi., 3.

31. L. Dukes' *Zur Kenntniss der Neuhebraeischen Poesie*, p. 84-100.

32. See *Abodath Israel*, by Drs. Szold and Jastrow: Memorial Service for the Day of Atonement. This Admonition to the Soul is a classic example of Hebrew hymnology, dealing with the human side of the primer. Michael Sachs has reproduced its movement and manner; see *Chaboth*, ed. Baumgarten, pp. xxxviii.-xl. On pp. xxiv.-xxxvii. of the same edition will be found Bachya's Supplication (*Tochecha*) for the Penitential Season, with a preface by Samuel David Luzzatto.

33. James Seth, *A Study of Ethical Principles*, pp. 160-164.

34. On asceticism in Jewish thought, see Schechter's "Rabbinical Conception of Holiness," in *J. Q. R.*; L. Dukes' *Zur Kenntniss*, etc. pp. 84-94.

On monastic celibacy, see Abraham bar Chiyya's *Hegyon Nefesh*, ed. Freimann, p. 37a.

On the Akeda, see Dukes' *Zur Kenntniss d. Neuhebraeischen Poesie*, p. 57. This subject and others kindred to it, on the border-line between Judaism and Christianity, still await the scholar who shall trace the extent of their infiltration into Judaism. Wuensche and Dalmann have both treated them, but not with the absolute impartiality these subjects require.

The quotation from the Jerusalem Talmud is found at the end of Kiddushin, עתיד אדם לתן דין וחשבון על כל מה שראתה עינו ולא אכל. Leopold Loew has collected some anti-ascetic sentiments of the Rabbis. *Gesammelte Schriften*, i, 101-103. Israel Baalshem, when he made "Cheerfulness" a cardinal virtue (see Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, pp. 31, 32), was not such a revolutionist, after all. The Jew has at all times sanctified the Sabbath with wine!

35. A. Geiger, *Die Ethische Grundlage des Buches ueber die Herzenspflichten*, in ed. Baumgarten, pp. xiii.-xxii.

36. *Chaboth*, ed. Baum. p. 130 and 135.

37. Chap. iv. of Gate Nine, p. 132, ed. Baumgarten.

38. Cf. a similar remark made by Dr. Huntington, Bishop of Central New York, on the present value of a'Kempis's *Imitation*, in "Aids to the Devout Life." (New York: Longmans, 1898.)

39. *Pirqe Aboth*, IV, 24.

40. See Schechter's Rabbinic Conception of Holiness, in the *J. Q. R.*

41. Cf. Maimonides, *Mishne Torah*, Hil. *Teshubah*, chap. x. What a vindication against that eternal talk of Judaism being based on fear! But prejudices die hard, and especially those against Judaism. Many are they who still firmly believe that in regard to Judaism one need be neither logical nor fair. For many centuries to come we must find comfort in the

words of the Preacher: "The things that have been are the things that will be."

42. I cannot at present remember where I first found this idea developed. Jost, in his *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten* vol. ii., chapter "Halacha," towards the close of the Talmudic period, has some very instructive pages on the subject. The quotation is from Berachoth, 6 and 7. A later Mystic Collection puts it more poetically: "Sandalphon binds the Tephillin on the head of the Rock of Ages." (Yalkut Reubeni, Bereshith.)

43. Walter Pater's Diaphanite, in his *Miscellaneous Studies*.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

BY GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT.

While the above essay was in the press, its author was speeding to his destination in South Africa, and could not devote time and attention to revising the proofs. Most of the notes, as he himself has stated, were hastily written aboard ship and forwarded to the publisher by the pilot of his outgoing vessel. As may be expected, there are some few discrepancies in style and accuracy which these extraordinary circumstances will justify. At the suggestion of a mutual friend, I made bold to edit the essay, and in token of my esteem for its worthy author, to carefully verify every citation, supply the necessary references, and add a few annotations to the text and notes, which, I trust, may not be thought out of place. A list of the most glaring misprints in the text are given in the footnote.*

Dr. Hertz's splendid *resume* of the ethical value of Bachya's *Guide to the Duties of the Heart* will be found to sustain in every way his well-earned reputation as a clear thinker and a thorough analytical student. It is on a level with his other writings, notably his dissertation on the "Ethical System of James Martineau." In securing the services of Rabbi Hertz, the Johannesburg Jewish community has gained a modern scholar, not a mere dry-as-dust deliver in books, whose sympathies are as keen as his character is pure, and whose *curriculum vitae* is summed up in his own words, quoted on page 24. May he wax מְחִיל אֶל חַיִּיל in working for Israel and the "Wissenschaft des Judenthums!"

1. P. 18, l. 17: The argument from Nature to prove nature's God, together with the other similes cited by Bachya in the same connection, are translated into English in *Tracts published by the Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge*. (First year, 5621, 5622, [1860, '61]; London)—a publication containing other selections from the *Choboth halebaboth*, for the first time done into English. In a note to the extract illustrating the evidence of God in nature, attention is called to the singular fact that, in his "Natural Theology," Paley, who wrote about six centuries *after* our author, follows a precisely similar line of argument deduced from a like illustration. Not having the work within reach, I cannot verify the statement. It is a curious coincidence worth pointing out, however.

* ERRATA: P. 8, l. 12 from top, read *between* instead of *among*; p. 12, l. 2 f. b., omit the; p. 14, l. 16 f. t., read *die man hat*; *ibid.*, l. 23, read *needed to make mention* instead of *hardly ever make mention*; p. 16, l. 12, omit *Jewish*; p. 17, l. 11-12, read *to-day*; p. 21, l. 3 f. b., read *Perishuth*; p. 23, l. 12, omit *are*; p. 24, l. 12, read, *things is required, so that we place*.

2. Plato's reminiscence of pre-existence, referred to on p. 21, lines 7 ff., is probably the idea developed in an old tradition printed in Jellinek's *Beith Hammedrash*, vol. i. (1853). Cf. Loew's *Lebensalter in der jued. Literatur* (Szegedin, 1875), and Dr. S. Schechter's excellent essay on "The Child in Jewish Literature," in his *Studies in Judaism* (1896), p. 285. De Quincey, in his "Additions to the Confessions of an Opium-eater," commenting upon Wordsworth's "Ode to Immortality," unconsciously echoes the same sentiment: ". . . What voices he heard most frequently, murmuring through the cells of his infantine brain, were echoes of the great realities, which, as a new-born infant, he had just quitted," etc., etc. Victor Hugo, in his sublime verses on *Prayer* (*Ma fille, va prier!*), dwells on the same idea. See Warner's *Library of the World's Best Literature*, vol. xiii., pp. 727-729.

3. P. 24, l. 8 and note 42: About God praying and the mystic (anthropomorphic) references to Tefillin and the angels, see Kohler's article on the "Testament of Job," in *Semitic Studies to the Memory of Alexander Kohut* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 289, 290, and my notes thereto, in *ibidem*, pp. 611, 612.

4. Notes: To the Bibliography on Bachya may be added the excellent essay of Dr. N. Bruell, in *Jahrbuecher*, vols. v. and vi. (1883), p. 71 seq., where, in discussing the history of Jewish ethical literature in the Middle Ages, some interesting and suggestive parallels are drawn. To the references given by Dr. Hertz in the introduction to the Notes may be added the following: L. Dukes, *Zur Rabbinischen Spruchkunde* (Vienna, 1851), pp. 72, 73; Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature* (London, 1857), pp. 101, 161 and notes; *Bodleian Catalogue* (Berlin, 1852-'60), pp. 780-3; S. Munk, *Notice Sur Rabbi Saadia Gaon* (Paris, 1858), pp. 4, 5, 45; *Melanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe* (Paris, 1857), p. 482, n. 3; *Le Guide des Egres*, vol. i., pp. 339, n.; 239, n.; 252, n.; 440, n.; iii., 78 n.; Karpeles, *Geschichte d. jued. Liter.* (Berlin, 1886), vol. i., pp. 483-486; Bacher, *Die Bibelepexese der jued. Religionsphilosophen . . . vor Mainuni* (Strassburg, 1892), pp. 56-81 [very important]; J. Derenbourg, "Un Livre inconnu de R. Bahia ben Joseph," in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, t. xxv. (1892), pp. 248-250. For bibliographic details see the standard reference books of the bibliographers, especially Zunz and Steinschneider.

The reciprocal literary relations of Bachya and his contemporaries, critically examined, would be a very interesting contribution to a forthcoming edition and translation of his ethical treatise. Perhaps Dr. Hertz will consider this suggestion in his contemplated edition.

5. Note 5.—An interesting parallel to Bachya's utterances on devotion in prayer may be found in Gazali's "Revival of the Sciences." He says: "It is evident that the presence of the heart (fervor, devotion) is the soul of prayer." (Cf. Schreiner, in the Hungarian periodical *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, vol. v., p. 338; Bacher, *Die Bibelepexese*, etc. [vide supra, note 4], p. 57, n. Bachya makes the same remark in his *Duties of the*

Heart, viii., 3, p. 105a. We note in passing that the famous Jewish adage, "Prayer without devotion is like a body without a soul," often wrongly ascribed to the Talmud (see Rev. Henry Cohen's *Talmudic Sayings*, 1894, p. 66), is to be found quoted a hundred years earlier than Isaac Arama, whom Steinthal accredits as the first to mention the saying verbatim. On the strength of it, he would give the proverb a Spanish origin. The famous Karaite, Ahron b. Elijah, cites the sentence in his compendium *Gan Eden*, p. 70, written anno 1354 in Constantinople (see Fuerst, *Gesch. d. Karaerthums*, p. 262,) or a century prior to Arama. I. Loew, in an article published in the above-named Hungarian periodical, vol. iv., p. 606, enumerates other authorities who quote this remarkable adage. He also calls attention to the fact that the word כוונה means purpose, intention, in Mishnaic Hebrew, and that it occurs but once in the Mishna (*Erubin* iv. 4), and often in the *Baraitas* and the *Tossephtha*. The verb כוון, meaning devotion, occurs frequently. Cf. f.e. *Berachoth*, 5. 1, 31a.

The indebtedness of Bachya to Algazali (1059-1111) was pointed out by Kaufman in the essay cited by Dr. Hertz, p. 21, n. 1 (cf. also *ZDMG.*, xxx., 363): Rosin, *Die Ethik des Maimonides*, p. 13, and Bacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57. The subject merits a more thorough investigation.

6. Note 5: Bachya's recently recovered work, *Reflections on the Soul*, edited by Broyde two years ago, has many things in common with Gabirol. A comparison between Bachya and Gabirol can only be made when the Arabic texts of the *Chaboth*, the *Reflections* and the *Tikkun Middoth Hannephesh* (now in course of publication by Rev. Stephen S. Wise, of New York) will have been carefully collated. Dr. M. Schreiner, with his usual acumen, has pointed out some striking parallels in his review of Broyde's edition, in *Zeitsch. f. hebraeische Bibliographie.*, vol. i., no. 6, pp. 121-128. His references and conclusions are very valuable to the student of these mediæval authors. See on the newly discovered work of Bachya's, Kaufmann in *REJ.*, vol. xxvii., p. 271 seq.; and Dr. J. Guttmann's essay: "Eine bisher unbekannte den Bachja Ibn Pakuda Zugeeignete Schrift," in *Monatschrift f. Gesch. und Wissensch. d. Judenth.* vol. xli., pp. 241-256.

7. Note 7: The Arabic title of the *Chaboth* reads: כתאב אלהאיה לבראין אלקלוב.

8. Note 16: On the origin and composition of the Talmudic tractate *Derech Eretz*, Dr. S. Krauss has just written a remarkable study. See *Revue des Etudes Juives*, t. xxxvi. (1898), pp. 27-46; 205-221, and t. xxxvii.

9. Note 28: On Modena a very interesting and fairly thorough biography (*Charakterbild*), has recently appeared from the pen of an American Jewish scholar, N. S. Libowitz (New York, 1896). See Brody's review in *Z. f. heb. Bibl.*, vol. i., p. 133-5.

10. Note 34: The genial humor and happy buoyancy of the *Baalshem*

are exquisitely drawn in Zangwill's sketch on the "Master of the Name," in *Dreamers of the Ghetto* (1898), pp. 262 ff.

Owing to lack of time and space, I could not add several other notes and references. I hope that Dr. Hertz will find leisure, despite his arduous Rabbinical duties, to give us the *Duties of the Heart* in an English dress.

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